

# The Classical Outlook

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## A ROMAN TOWN IN EGYPT

By LOUISE A. SHIER

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University of Michigan

(Note: This paper is based on an exhibit arranged in the spring of 1947 by the Museum of Archaeology of the University of Michigan, with the cooperation and assistance of Dr. Elinor Husselman, Curator of Papyri and Manuscripts in the University Library. The papyri and other objects mentioned are, for the most part, from excavations of the University of Michigan at Karanis, the province of Fayoum, Upper Egypt, or from sites nearby. Most of the documents have been published in the volumes of Michigan Papyri in the University of Michigan Humanistic Series, and the translations are from that source. Translations of those not yet published were kindly furnished by Dr. Husselman.)

**I**N THIS paper we wish, for a little while, to take you back some eighteen hundred years, back to Egypt under Roman rule, to the village of Karanis in the large oasis of the Fayoum, about sixty miles south and west of the modern city of Cairo.

In the towns of the Fayoum were living at this time, besides the native Egyptians, many descendants of those Greeks who had come into Egypt after Alexander the Great had conquered the country. Greek names and Greek customs, as well as the Greek language, had become a part of Egyptian life. For instance, the lamp with a nozzle was a Greek contribution. Many of the Greek and mixed Greek inhabitants of Egypt enjoyed special privileges, and sometimes even Roman citizenship. The ordinary Egyptians were treated as a subject people.

When a child was born, the public record of his birth was kept as proof of his position, of the type of citizenship which he enjoyed, and of his eligibility for military service and of his tax obligations.

On March 27th, 128 A. D., Gaius Herennius Geminianus, a Roman citizen, reported to the prefect of Alexandria the birth of a daughter, Herennia Gemella. A certified copy of the public record was made for the family, written in Latin on a wax tablet with the names of the necessary

witnesses (*P. Mich.* III, 166). At that time the little Herennia Gemella was more interested in a rattle made of woven palm leaf strips with small pebbles inside to furnish the necessary noise, than she was in the record that established her possession of the prized Roman citizenship. Later she probably played with a rag doll like one from Karanis that has real hair and a separate cloak and hood. Some near contemporary of little Herennia was amused by a small wooden horse and pulled it along by a string fastened through its nose. The wheels of the horse were off center to give a galloping motion as he rolled along.

When schooldays came, the children learned their Greek alphabet from a wooden tablet. They read Homer and struggled with Euclid. "A point is that which has no part"; so begins a schoolboy copy of the first ten definitions (*P. Mich.* III, 143). Then there was arithmetic: "The width of a field is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  schoenia; what is the length that there may be 20 arouras? As is needful, reduce the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  schoenia to halves, =5; and the 20 arouras to halves, =40; of which  $1/5=8$ ; this is the length. Proof: Multiply the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  schoenia of the width by [the 8] of the length [and it will be] 20" (*P. Mich.* III, 145).

Of course the ordinary Egyptian of Roman times did not send his children to school, but, as soon as they were able, he put them to work.



LATE THIRD-CENTURY STREET IN KARANIS

Courtesy of the Archaeological Museum,  
University of Michigan

Since agriculture was the chief occupation in Egypt, the boys usually worked on the land. The people lived in villages, like Karanis, and went out to work in the fields and gardens by day. Horos, son of Horos, of the village of Bacchias, was like many other farmers who leased all or part of the fields they worked. In the year 121 A. D. he applied to Haruotes, son of Alexas, to lease four and a half arouras of his grain land for four years. He promised, "I shall deliver in the month Pauni in the village the annual rental in grain, new, clean, without blemish, and free from barley. And after the expiration of the lease I shall hand over the arouras free from rushes, reeds, coarse grass, and all rubbish, with one half lying fallow in grass and the other half after the stubble harvest" (*P. Mich.* III, 184).

Like the rental on farm land, Horos paid his land taxes in kind. There were also transportation charges, and school children learned to work practical problems on transportation of grain. "The freight on 100 artabs is 5 artabs; what is the freight on the whole principal amount of 1000 artabs? As is needful I multiplied [5] by 1000=5000, of which  $1/100=50$ ; so many artabs are the freight" (*P. Mich.* III, 145).

Besides his other taxes, the able-bodied Egyptian farmer had to give five days' labor each year for work on the irrigation system. Failure to

keep the canals in repair was probably the leading cause for the desertion of Karanis and other towns in the Fayoum in the fourth and fifth centuries.

If a boy was not set at farm work, he might be apprenticed to learn a manual trade. The boy who became a potter entered a trade of great importance in the ordinary life of Roman Egypt. Pottery jars were used for cooking and serving food. Large jars were used for storing and shipping goods of all kinds. Each village had its potter to whom a boy might be apprenticed or for whom he might contract to work when he grew older.

Each trade and occupation had its tax. The potter Petheus, son of Onnophris, paid 32 drachmas as his yearly trade tax at Karanis in the years 171/2 to 173/4 A. D. (*P. Mich. IV*, pt. 1, p. 25, 224, 335).

In Roman times most of the towns in the Fayoum manufactured their own glassware, which included practically all the shapes we know for table use. The finer pieces were probably made in Alexandria, one of the leading glass-making centers of antiquity. Glass was sometimes found at Karanis buried in storage jars sunk beneath the floor levels. In one jar, partly buried in the courtyard of a late third-century house, were nineteen complete pieces of glassware.

Fragments of linen and wool clothing and tapestries, spindles, weaver's combs, heddles, and wool from Karanis sheep survived in the Karanis houses. Onnophris, son of Gaius, paid a tax of 12 drachmas on his occupation of wool-shearer at Karanis in the year 172/3 (*P. Mich. IV*, pt. 1, 179), and in the same year Hatres paid a tax of 12 drachmas as wool-merchant (*P. Mich. IV*, pt. 1, p. 177).

A contract with a weaver of Tebtunis in the first century reads (*P. Mich. V*, 355): "I Harmiusis . . . agree that for two years from the aforesaid time I will present myself to work and do everything that is ordered, and to weave whatever the said Heron . . . wishes every day, in return for which the said Heron shall pay in my behalf for the aforesaid period of time, annually, the poll tax in the village of Tebtunis and the weaver's tax and my expenses and the surtax of one-third and the work on the embankments and the bath tax and the tax on fountains, and on account of payments in kind over the aforesaid period of time, monthly, one artab of wheat measured by the fourchoinix measure of Tebtunis, and on

account of clothing and oil, annually, twenty-eight drachmas of silver. And I will not absent myself by day from Heron's establishment, but will accompany him everywhere according to the law. And for each day that I do not remain with him, I will pay to Heron two drachmas of silver, and

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### TO K. N.

By JOHN K. COLBY  
Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass.

Cayenna est rufilla,  
Gustabilis, pauxilla,  
Sed ardet ut favilla  
Ignaro iuveni.

Vos illam inducentem,  
Colore effulgentem,  
Vobisque blandientem  
Nolite tangere.

Nam osculo haerescet,  
Fervore concrebrescet,  
Nec unquam refrigescet . . .  
Cavete, iuvenes!

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I will do everything as aforesaid. Sarapion, son of Ptolemaios, wrote for him because he is illiterate. (Second hand:) Heron, son of Haruotes. The agreement was made with me as aforesaid."

When one considers the number of taxes, it is no wonder that the pawnbroker was a part of the life of the times. A pawnbroker's account in the collections of the University of Michigan most frequently lists cloaks, tunics, and other articles of clothing (*P. Mich. Inventory* 3163; unpublished). But there also appear perfumes and spice, a service of glass, a pair of cups and a bronze altar, a money bag, two large bowls, a three-legged stool, three *keramia* of wine, silver armlets and bracelets, and household equipment of various sorts.

When a young man married, there was a marriage settlement. In one contract the bride's mother is to pay a dowry of 2160 silver drachmas in coin (*P. Mich. V*, 343). The property which was to remain under the wife's control included gold and silver jewelry, cosmetic equipment, clothing, and a slave girl of five years. The contract provided that if there was a separation the dowry was to be returned.

Tax records from Karanis have been found for the three consecutive years 171/2-173/4 A.D. (*P. Mich. IV*, pt. 1 and 2). The tax rolls list the names of the taxpayers with the kinds

of taxes and amounts which they paid, and give a daily summary. Included were the poll tax, land taxes of various sorts, dike tax, bath tax, dovecote tax, donkey, camel, and pig taxes, transport taxes, beer tax, trade taxes on potters, wool-merchants, and wool-shearers, fines, and rents. The lists of taxpayers were made up from the census records made every fourteen years, and these lists were revised every year from the register of births and the reports of deaths. Every male citizen paid the poll tax from the age of fourteen until he was sixty-two or older. The rate varied from district to district. In the Fayoum the usual tax was forty drachmas. Certain privileged classes, especially those descended from the Greek settlers, paid a lower rate. Roman citizens were exempt.

The houses at Karanis were built with thick walls of sun-dried brick, made as the Egyptians had been making bricks for thousands of years, and are still making them. The best bricks found in the houses were made without straw. The roof was built of wooden beams covered with reeds, palm sticks, and mud. The doors and window frames were wood. Good wood was scarce and expensive. Leases often contained the condition that the rented houses must be returned to the owner with the doors and window frames intact.

Parts of houses were bought and sold. In 30 A.D., Didume sold "the third part that belongs to me from the fourth part of a three-story house and a court and all the appurtenances common and undivided." She guaranteed "the sale with every guarantee from all public and private encumbrances and every sort of tax" (*P. Mich. V*, 257). There was a ten per cent tax on the sale of houses.

There were at least two temples at Karanis. The North Temple was dedicated to Serapis, the Southern Temple to Pnepheros and Petesouchos, the crocodile gods of the Fayoum. The temples did not escape taxation. The priests paid rental on altars, taxes on offerings, and there was a tax on animals offered for sacrifice.

When an Egyptian died, there was a tax on his burial. His surviving relatives reported his death, as Sambatos reported the death of his father, Pakusis, to the village secretary at Karanis in the year 111 A.D. in order that his father's name might be removed from the tax rolls and his heirs might not be held liable for continuing taxes (*P. Mich. Inventory* 2841; unpublished).

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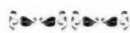
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But finally, wrapped in his best and with his favorite jewelry and charms, surrounded by his household jars, lamps, and tools, whatever his belief and whatever his station in life, the dweller in Egypt of some eighteen hundred years ago was laid to rest in hope of a peaceful forgetfulness or of a better life to come.



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National committees of the American Classical League which have recently announced their lists of members are the following:

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## NOTES AND NOTICES

The Classical Association of the Middle West and South will meet in Richmond, Virginia, on April 7, 8, and 9, 1949.

The Classical Association of New England will meet at Milton Academy, Milton, Mass., on March 18 and 19, 1949.

The University of Kentucky will sponsor a Foreign Language Conference on March 31 and April 1 and 2, 1949, with the theme "Foreign Languages in Democratic Education." The lecturers will be Dr. Walter V. Kaulfers, University of Illinois (Romance languages); Dr. M. Blakemore Evans, Ohio State University (Germanic languages); and Dr. Hubert McNeill Poteat, Wake Forest College (classical languages). Teachers of foreign languages, principals, and superintendents are invited to attend. Programs may be obtained from Professor Jonah W. D. Skiles, 102 Frazee Hall, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky. The 1948 Conference drew registrants from seventeen states.

The University of North Carolina announces a teaching fellowship, paying \$720 plus tuition for the academic year 1949-50, which will be awarded to a student majoring in Latin toward an advanced degree. The University also offers an assistantship at \$400, several part-time instructorships at \$660-\$720, and a number of scholarships, all available to classical majors. Further information may be obtained from Professor B. L. Ullman, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

## ON WRITING LATIN

By W. L. CARR

Colby College, Waterville, Maine

(Editor's Note: One of the questions submitted for the "Information Please" feature of the program at the 1948 Institute meeting of the American Classical League was, "What are some interesting and effective ways of giving high-school pupils practice in writing Latin other than the traditional translation of English sentences into Latin?" The statement here published is an amplification of the answer given at the meeting.)

**M**OST TEACHERS of Latin would accept the statement that the "primary immediate objective in the teaching of Latin is the cultivation in the pupils of the ability to read Latin." It follows that giving pupils practice in hearing, saying, or writing Latin must be justified, for the great majority of pupils, by the extent to which the knowledge, abilities, and skills cultivated in hearing, saying, and writing Latin are effective yet not too time-consuming aids to the ability to write Latin.

In considering this whole question of writing Latin we should keep in mind the fact that language is primarily "language," that is, *spoken* sounds, and that any alphabetic or syllabic system of writing or printing is only a device for recording speech sounds, just as reading is a process of reproducing these recorded speech sounds. We should also keep in mind the following facts: that, in the experience of every normal *in-fant* (non-speaker) born into a literate society, *hearing* speech sounds long precedes his *saying* them; that a child's hearing and saying speech sounds precede by three or four years his first efforts at reading them; and that writing, that is, recording speech sounds, for himself or for others, is the latest language skill to be developed. Furthermore, in "picking up" a second language a child or adult follows this same order of language experiences, if indeed he ever reaches the third and fourth stages.

Strange to say, many teachers of Latin seem to disregard the implications of the above mentioned facts. First, they all but ignore the importance of giving their pupils practice in hearing and saying Latin as very important steps to reading Latin; and second, they exalt the writing of Latin to a position equal to, if not actually above, the reading of Latin, if one may judge by the amount of their pupils' time and energy which



they allot to exercises in the writing of Latin.

In the earliest stages of the study of Latin, the pupil should never be asked to *say* a Latin word, phrase, or sentence which he has not previously heard his teacher say. Furthermore, he should not in the earliest stages be asked to *read* (i.e., *say* what he sees on the printed page) any word which he has not himself already heard and said. It is only after a pupil has had a considerable amount of practice in hearing, saying, and seeing Latin—enough practice to make more or less automatic for him the relation between the letters of the Roman-English alphabet and the sounds which they represent in Latin—that he should be asked to *read* a newly introduced Latin word, phrase, or sentence. And only at this somewhat advanced stage of his linguistic experience should he be expected to do any but the simplest kind of writing Latin. From this point on, the pupil's writing of appropriately simple Latin can be reasonably correct. And it is only the writing of reasonably *correct* Latin that can be a helpful experience. Good "practice makes perfect"; bad practice makes worse.

Below are listed some of the ways of writing Latin which teachers of high-school Latin have found interesting and effective:

1. The pupil, at a fairly early stage in his study of Latin, writes Latin words, phrases, or short sentences at the dictation of the teacher.
2. The pupil copies and completes assigned Latin sentences in which one or more words lack the inflectional ending.
3. The pupil copies and completes assigned Latin sentences which lack one or more words to be supplied from the Latin story on which the Latin sentences are based.
4. The pupil writes Latin answers to short Latin questions based on a Latin story which has been read.
5. The pupil rewrites assigned Latin sentences changing singulars to plurals, presents to pasts, and the like.
6. The pupil copies an assigned Latin passage and makes caret insertions of any words which must be supplied from the context to make each clause in the passage logically complete.
7. A volunteer pupil writes a summary of a Latin story.
8. A volunteer pupil writes a dramatization of a Latin narrative.
9. A volunteer pupil turns an English song into Latin.
10. A volunteer pupil writes an

original Latin composition in prose or verse form.

Item 6 above describes a genuine completion exercise of an immediately practical sort, and this sort of Latin writing is highly recommended for use in connection with the reading of any classical author. It gives direct help for the understanding of many a complicated Latin sentence. Furthermore, Latin writing of this type greatly increases the student's understanding of the various patterns which stylistic Latin sentences can follow and gives him an increased appreciation of the way in which a highly inflected language like Latin can say (or imply) so much with so little.

Only an exercise like that described in Item 10 above should be called "composition." Perhaps nothing so well supports the charge sometimes made that we Latinists are "traditionalists" as the persistent way in which we cling to the term "prose composition" to refer to the process of turning detached and almost meaningless English sentences into Latin sentences. This term comes down to us from the good old days when Latin students were expected to attain some proficiency in verse composition as well as in prose composition. What we euphemistically call "prose composition" is generally "prose" only because it is not verse, and it is "composition" only because it is "put together."



#### LATIN INSTITUTE, 1949

By HENRY C. MONTGOMERY  
Miami University, Oxford, Ohio

Plans are well under way for the Second Latin Institute, to be held by the American Classical League on June 16, 17, and 18, 1949, at its headquarters in Miami University, Oxford, Ohio. Persons who attended the First Latin Institute, last year, will be interested in learning that many of the features of that meeting will be retained.

Headquarters and the registration desk for the Institute will be in Hamilton Hall Dormitory, on the south campus of the University. The cost per day remains at \$4.00; this includes room (with two persons in a room), all meals, bed linen, and towels. No charges will be made until guests actually arrive, and there will be no advance registration fee. University officials request, however, that so far as possible registration for partial days be avoided. Those who plan to attend are urged to send in registrations at once, so that adequate preparations for the comfort and con-

venience of all may be assured. Registrations should be addressed to the American Classical League, Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

South Hall, adjacent to Hamilton Hall, has been reserved especially for Catholic Sisters this year; members of religious orders are accordingly extended a most cordial invitation to attend.

Oxford is reached by only two passenger trains a day, on the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad—a morning train from Cincinnati and an evening train from Indianapolis. However, there is direct bus service from Richmond, Indiana (on the Pennsylvania Railroad), Hamilton, Ohio (Pennsylvania and Baltimore and Ohio Railroads), and Middletown, Ohio (New York Central Railroad). There is also frequent bus service to and from Cincinnati. Principal highways leading to Oxford are Routes 27, North-South, and 73, East-West.

For leisure hours, Oxford provides varied recreation. Tennis courts are numerous. The University golf course and the Oxford municipal swimming pool are available to all, the pool being reached by bus service from Park Place in the village. Western College for Women and Miami University are both located in Oxford, and both have attractive, wooded campuses.

A program of particular interest to teachers of the classics, in both high school and college, is being planned. The preliminary draft of the program will appear in *THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK* for April.



#### AENEAS ORATOR

By GEORGE TWIGG-PORTER, S. J.  
Loyola High School, Los Angeles, California

**V**ERGIL must have been somewhat of an orator as well as a great poet. The speeches which Aeneas delivers to his men reveal consummate art. The words which Aeneas uses are immortal—ever ancient and ever new; and one of his most recommending qualities as an orator is that all of his speeches are *short*. The encouragement of friends, the instructions of captains, the "pep" talks of coaches during this twentieth century, all echo the words of "Pater Aeneas" of the first century before Christ.

Throughout the entire *Aeneid*, Vergil allows his hero to speak directly to his men on six occasions. From the opening book we shall take our first selection—I, 198-207.

The Trojans are shipwrecked, and are strangers on the coast of Libya. Aeneas, as leader, gives his men hope;

he revives their spirits by telling them the ultimate destiny of the Trojan band. By his very words, Pater Aeneas soothes their aching hearts: "O my companions," he says (using the affectionate word *socii*), "it is true you have suffered much. But the goal is in sight. Gone are the perils of Scylla and the rocks of the Cyclops. We are going to Latium, where we shall enjoy peace and prosperity."

Here, as in all his speeches, there is reference to the fates or the deities; in all his words as well as in his actions Aeneas is *pietate insignis*. "Durate" here would be translated by the modern reader into some such expression as "Carry on!" or "Chin up!" Perhaps the most famous line in this brief speech of hope is the old saw that Mr. Chips quoted at the banquet to honor his retirement—"Forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit."

But Aeneas is more than a speech-maker; he is a hero. His friends need encouragement. He himself is downhearted, yet he makes this speech to fortify them. He manages to look cheerful—"false face must hide what false heart does know"—"spem vultu simulat, premit altum corde dolorem." The men are encouraged; they begin the banquet of thanksgiving, and once more dedicate themselves with renewed hope to their glorious mission.

Again, Aeneas speaks at a time when all hope seems lost. As Troy is falling, Aeneas meets some of his heroes and spurs them on to kill (II, 348-354). Pater Aeneas speaks to his companions, addressing them as "iuvenes." Throughout, the religious note is struck, and the end of this speech sounds like a very death knell for the Greeks: "Moriatur et in media arma ruamus. Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem!" Here the anguish of Aeneas betrays itself in the short, gasping sentences; caesurae, elision, and asyndeton sweep us forward with the speaker's own passion.

Aeneas is silent through the third book. Then, in the fourth book (573-9), as Mercury leaves him for the second time and he is awakened from sleep, he gives sailing orders to his men. In this speech Aeneas is Captain. He abandons the polite commands of the subjunctive, and, using imperatives, addresses his heroes (*viri*): "Rise! Weigh anchor! Hoist the sails!" His speech is a hopeful reveille; the short, quick phrases affect his men like a boatswain's whistle. Here, too, his religious attitude appears: "Sequimur te, sancte deorum, quisquis es, imperioque iterum parvemus ovantes." He prays for good

weather. The men set sail, and as the ships stand out to sea their hopes are high—they have the blessing of the gods upon them. Aeneas the Good is manifested once more to us, obedient to higher commands, sacrificing his own love for Dido to fulfill his destiny—"tantae molis erat, Romanam condere gentem!"

The longest address made by Aeneas occurs in the fifth book (V,

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### VERGIL, *AENEID* I, 300-1

By HARRY L. LEVY

Hunter College of the City of New York

"Volat ille [=Mercurius] per aera magnum / remigio alarum" (*Aeneid* I, 300-1).

Readers of the *Aeneid* have undoubtedly admired for centuries the aptness of the word *remigium* in the passage quoted. It remained for contemporary science to show that the word is not only an apt metaphor, but a really scientific description. *Time* magazine, in its issue of January 24, 1949 (page 66), reviews John H. Storer's new book, *The Flight of Birds* (Cranbrook Institute of Science), in which slow-motion pictures are utilized to give an accurate aero-dynamic analysis of birds' flight. A paragraph of the review reports: "At the end of the downstroke, the wing is far forward. The bird pulls it back and up. This 'rowing' motion against the air gives the bird an extra forward drive." Vergil's keen love of the life of field and forest, and his equally keen perception of their phenomena, led him to anticipate by twenty centuries this element of Mr. Storer's findings.

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45-71). Here we have a most beautiful dedicatory address, celebrating the death of Anchises. The speech is splendid in its simplicity; it is religious, it is resigned, and it is expressed with great unity. Again occur the subjunctives which add a special note of pleading. Aeneas speaks to his men, *Dardanidae magni*: "This is the day we celebrate my father's death; it shall be done with all rites, religious and secular. We are resigned to the will of the gods. Every man, be he Sicilian or Trojan, is welcome to join in our games. May the gods of hearth and household, the Lares and Penates, look benignly upon us." One wonders if a Bourdaloue or Bossuet ever spoke so loftily, or so simply.

In the seventh book (120-134) we gain some understanding of Aeneas as an after-dinner speaker. His cues

are taken from his immediate circumstances; his anecdotes are well chosen. Iulus, the son of Aeneas, observes that the Trojans are eating even the crusts which served as plates: "Heus, etiam mensas consumimus!" (116). Aeneas takes the cue from his own son and uses his words to inform the heroes of their greatest find—their own home, *patria*! By relating the oracle given by his father, Aeneas encourages his followers. Now is the prophecy fulfilled. The Trojans eat tonight; tomorrow they have work to do: "Quare agite et primo laeti cum lumine solis quae loca, quive habeant homines, ubi moenia gentis, vestigemus, et a portu diversa petamus." But now, give a libation to the gods, and bring in more wine! The subjunctives this time give gentleness to his words, and we note especially the use of the first person plural, which obviously applies not only to men, but to leader also. They will search, but he will search along with them—he is still Pater Aeneas.

The final talks to his men occur in the last book (XII, 313-7). Aeneas is aroused. His men are breaking the truce. He commands them to cease firing. "I alone will do the fighting!" he cries. He begins this speech with a question to get the attention of his warriors: "Quo ruitis? Quaeve ista repens discordia surgit?" His single idea is repeated: "Calm down; it's my fight!" As he talks his voice betrays more and more of his rising anger. The elisions in line 316 make the whole line appear rough, and the alliteration with the following line show the excitement of the leader's voice: "Me sinite atque auferte metus; ego foedera faxo firma manu, Turnum debent haec iam mihi sacra." He speaks, his men listen, and the warrior Aeneas leads.

In this discussion of the short talks of Aeneas, all references to commentators such as Mackail, Conington, and Servius have been omitted. Their learning and interpretations have not been overlooked in the preparation of this article, but the emphasis has been placed on Aeneas Orator. And as Orator we have seen Pius Aeneas, Pater Aeneas, and, if we may be forgiven, Mulcetor Aeneas. Every talk is masterful and to the point.

Vergil's fame rests not on his oratory, but on his poetical ability. We are given only a sample of what might have been had the Mantuan taken the *cursus honorum*, had he become an administrator, a jurist, or a senator. Aeneas Orator is but another child of Vergil, a child whose speeches are ever ancient and ever new.

## CAESAR IS LITERATURE

By JOHN B. TITCHENER  
The Ohio State University

(Editor's Note: This is a reply to an article entitled "Aeneas Or Caesar," by Norman J. DeWitt, which appeared in THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK for January, 1949, 42-3.)

APPARENTLY the disagreement between Professor DeWitt and myself is to a certain extent one of definition. Professor DeWitt agrees with me that in the first book of Caesar there is "an immense amount of drama . . . that can be brought out by reading between the lines." But he also finds as a studied characteristic "no emotion." There seems to be a certain contradiction here. Professor DeWitt also states that Caesar was deliberately not writing literature. This seems to imply a definition of literature that confines itself either to belles-lettres or to the Ciceronian, the middle or grand style. If G. C. Fiske is right, the plain style was much more widely practiced in this period, and was accepted as a literary style. Precisely as Cicero is the first really great exponent of his own style, Caesar is the first really great exponent of the plain style. Cicero by temperament did not like this kind of writing but he respected ability and he did not fall into the error of refusing the title "literature" to first-rate writing in the plain style.

Just as the two very different men produced the two very different kinds of writing, so readers will probably fall by nature into one or the other class. I have known admirers of Cicero who find very little in Caesar. Professor DeWitt confesses to a fondness for Caesar because of his own interest in history and Gallic antiquities. I have myself a tremendous regard for Cicero; if one simply turns to one of the well-worn Catilinarians, that almost unbelievable magic of words strikes one afresh on the twentieth reading. But I also find in Caesar on the twentieth reading the power of the written word, which to me is literature.

The acceptance of this, that Caesar is a stylistic master of the plain style and that his *Commentaries* deserve the title, in the broad sense, of literature, leads to a reiteration of my belief that the continuation of the study of Latin depends primarily upon our success in teaching literature. It is not easy to teach literature, whereas many of the so-called secondary objectives are so fatally easy to teach that we often assume that we are teaching literature, when we do no more than require a fairly accurate

translation. If we could require our youngsters to read a sufficient quantity, a great deal would be absorbed unconsciously, but in the case of a foreign language in a limited space of time the effort to teach literary values must be a constant and conscious one, no matter how difficult the task.

Latin, I repeat, must be taught as literature, and at the earliest possible moment. For this purpose Caesar is admirable—that is, as a text for the teaching of literature, provided that the teacher will take the necessary pains. "Pure objective narrative"; if we were actually succeeding in teaching our high-school students or our candidates for their masters' degrees to write in this manner we should be proud of our educational process. A secondary objective, perhaps, but not too far removed from literary appreciation and not of minor value. For this end, a very substantial accomplishment, even if the result falls below the level of "literature," Caesar is the best available model; doubly valuable in that the slow process of translation permits the study of method more pleasantly than comparable work in English.

The Latins learned to write by studying rhetoric, but rhetoric is not a particularly fascinating study to students. Possibly the doctrine of interest in the learning process has reduced emphasis on it. If, however, something of the working-method and of the value of rhetoric can be illustrated in a Latin story, the teacher is doing something in the way of teaching how Caesar wrote and how one can learn to write prose oneself. For example, a cardinal point in the plain style is the selection of the minimum number of essential facts which will present a complete picture. This is, of course, an exaggeration but it is the kind of thing that can be taught. The plain style, again, is an appeal to the intelligence, not to the emotion. Cicero will do your thinking for you, if you will let him, and deliberately raise your emotions for the purpose of securing action. This is thoroughly legitimate and moral, and is not to be interpreted as a suggestion that he is a distributor of propaganda. Caesar will present statements of fact, which are always subject to critical review, and ought therefore to be accurate. On the basis of an understanding through the intelligence of a situation, and of action resulting from the situation, comes the response of the reader's emotion. Bad writing in the plain style will not arouse emotion, and careless or hasty read-

ing will prevent it, as will also laborious attention to the details of Caesar's army.

Battles, as has been observed in recent times, are merely the final stage in a campaign of which the first and major parts are diplomatic. Caesar makes this perfectly clear, but unfortunately he seems to be generally thought of and taught as a succession of battles. With the proper emphasis, a very small amount of background material, and that of an interesting kind, will turn a battle-description into a developing and gripping story. Caesar, still very much a member of the triumvirate, and with no military reputation, faces a disaster on the Northern frontier. The fault may not be his, but he will be in command if the Helvetians break through; and the invaluable reputation for unbroken success that every commander desires will be smashed at the start. The Helvetians request permission to move armed forces through the Roman province, a curious request and one illustrative of the Helvetians; the answer, Caesar does not need to say, had to be no, a point which will have to be explained to young students. These are the facts, and the situation compelling action, and the drama; the threat to Rome and to Caesar's reputation, as usual inextricably involved.

Much has been written also on the "dubious morality" of Caesar, perhaps by those who read Tully's *Offices* while neglecting the story of his political career. Caesar is writing history from a nationalistic Roman point of view, and I am not sure that history, if one is seeking moral instruction, is much better than comedy. A decision must be made on the basis of what we want our children in this modern world to learn. For my own part I should be content if they would learn from Homer and Caesar what people and nations have been, and very possibly still are. Similarly with the argument based on the historical popularity of various Latin authors; this popularity, as Professor DeWitt points out, has waxed and waned not merely in the case of authors but also in the case of specific writings of one author, and even in the reason for reading an author. Men of the sixteenth century very possibly knew what was best for their day; I hope that we can make a wise decision on today's needs.

Cicero, as Professor DeWitt might have added, was tremendously concerned with the preservation and publication of his orations, very fortunately for us, but even so a great many



have not survived. Neither Caesar, who had a high reputation as an orator, nor any other man of the period has left an oration that survives today. Except for Cicero, none of the men of the period seemed to feel that either they or their contemporaries were writing classics; and perhaps they were right. Their interest, certainly, was in the present and the tasks of the present. Professor DeWitt is quite right that Suetonius was uncertain about the authorship of the additions to Caesar.

Finally, I should like to call attention to the fact that my remarks have been wholly directed to the defense of Caesar as an author through whom one can effectively teach literature. For that reason comparisons have been made to Cicero's prose rather than to Vergil's poetry, since the comparisons have the one single point, that of illustrating the writings of Caesar. Cicero wrote great literature and Vergil wrote great literature; I should be very glad to read an article in *THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK* on how literature may be taught through the writings of either.

### MEN AND WOMEN OF TOMORROW

BY FRED S. DUNHAM  
University of Michigan

ONE CAN not live with young people day after day without experiencing a constant renewal of one's faith in the future. Believing that education, like charity, begins at home, I have therefore gone directly to the oracle of youth for the ideas which are embodied in this paper. "The High School Students' Charter," which appeared in the January issue of *THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK*, pages 37-8, called attention to certain weaknesses in education which must be charged against present-day economic and social forces, and concluded with a statement of the general goals of the American high school. This paper, which reveals some neglected areas in education in reference to attainment of the goals, is little more than a restatement of ideas which I have often heard expressed by young people at their best. The constructive suggestions for the improvement of the curriculum with which the pupils conclude their charter point to the necessity of guaranteeing exposure to appropriate curricular experiences in order that each individual may attain his full stature.

Our pupils, then, speak to their teachers as follows:

1. We pass along from grade to grade and reach our senior year, and still we can not read intelligently.

Few of us acquire a taste for serious reading, and fewer yet develop an admiration for the great masterpieces of English and American writers. What is the reason for our failure? It is easy to lay the blame upon our youth and immaturity, but a glimpse at the reading material on sale at newsstands and corner drugstores convinces us that we shall do little better when we are older. There are millions of people, now grown up, and the majority of them once your pupils, whose reading matter is limited to pulp magazines and funny strips and the sports pages of daily papers. It would be unfair to place the blame for this low standard of literacy entirely upon our teachers. The fault is partly that of other agencies and influences which are beyond your control; and it is partly our own, for we have not always taken advantage of the opportunities which you have given us. However, we believe you can do something about it—not one thing, perhaps, but many things. You hold a strategic position and it is time to advance.

2. You do not teach us how to write. What writing we do is sporadic and improvised—well worth while as a means of self-expression, but incoherent, unclear, and full of errors because we are ignorant of correct language usage and have no command of words. We thoroughly enjoy this kind of writing, but we would enjoy it more and succeed better if we were not obliged to make bricks without straw.

3. Some of us look with scorn upon things which our grandparents once held sacred. We would not return to horse-and-buggy days; but because you do not teach us to discriminate between the good and bad of former times, many of us have come to regard anything which relates to the past as dead, outmoded, and fit for the scrapheap. Fortunately, a few of us have old-fashioned parents and teachers who still believe in such things as traditions, scholarship, memorizing, training, and drill; in loyalty, duty, virtue, and respect for law. We wish to enjoy our school life as we go along; but we do not regard these things as relics of the past, suitable for display in a museum and no longer useful in our education.

4. You talk quite freely about democracy and citizenship and ethical character, and use a host of nebulous generalities which we adolescents cannot understand. But you seldom mention Christianity as a unifying force in Western civilization and in our personal lives. It is not our understanding that, when the founders of

our Constitution separated church and state, they intended to discard instruction in Christian principles from public education. And yet you sometimes confuse religion and sectarianism. In your fear that you may exaggerate differences in creed you neglect the true meaning of the word *religion*. You exalt the public school as a melting pot in American life, and then leave out the one ingredient which provides the driving urge for moral conduct and unselfish service. You are horrified by juvenile delinquency, the crimes of youth, violations of the law in high places, the breaking up of homes; and yet you neglect that major common element in us all, our main distinction from other creatures, the noblest achievement of mankind. Our spiritual life, which is "closer than breathing and nearer than hands or feet," you expect us to leave behind when we come to school. You dare not tell us stories from the Bible, nor include them in our courses. And then you are amazed that we teen-agers have so little appreciation for the best in literature, art, and music, and fail to recognize the source of Biblical phrases and quotations which we hear in casual conversation and read in daily papers.

5. You play down the value of the classics in our education, although you recognize excellence in other fields. You withhold from us a first-hand acquaintance with the "glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome." Although our cultural heritage is fundamentally and preeminently Greco-Roman and the intellectual element in our English vocabulary largely Latin, you let us spend our time in incidental learning. Our parents tell us that they never understood English grammar and the basic meaning of many English words until they studied Latin. Do you think our education should be cheaper than theirs?—less productive of intellectual powers?—spread thin?—more passive and superficial? How then can we take over and use wisely the destructive horsepower and atomic energy which will soon be placed in our hands?

6. You make us bow down and worship a gilded image of contemporary life, which you have crowned with a halo. By allowing us to waste our time in aimless talk, you teach us ephemeral, useless knowledge that vanishes like dew the moment we leave the portals of the school. On graduation day we receive our diplomas as you join the applause of our proud parents, and then we leave our sacred *alma mater* still believing that

civilization began when we were born. We have learned to use our soap and toothbrush; we shall live in better houses, eat and dress well, travel farther, faster, and higher; but if you happen to be around to view your handiwork, you may find us more dangerous, more barbarous, more destructive than the primitive tribes that beat their war drums in the primeval woods.

7. We believe that we should be able eventually to make our own living and maintain high material standards of living; but there are some among you who overdo the "bread-and-butter" aspect of our education and thereby deprive us of those very experiences which enable us to enjoy a full and happy life. Food, clothing, and shelter are necessities of civilized life. But we do not believe that we should revert to that primitive stage of civilization when man worshipped the gods who fed him; nor do we believe that we can rise to our full stature as free men unless you teach us to live intelligently and unselfishly. We shall surely lose that freedom if you forget the Christian teaching, "Man shall not live by bread alone."

8. You put preparation for life over against preparation for college, little realizing that preparation for college is also preparation for life. Do you intend us who will go to college to infer that our kind of education is synonymous with death? Or do you mean that we who rank high in intelligence, but will not go to college when the time comes, for reasons which we can not now anticipate, should be deprived of opportunities to acquire and express ideas on a high intellectual level? We who have the capacity to succeed in college, but do not go, outnumber those who go; and still we are not guided into those subjects in the lower grades of high school and particularly into continuing subjects in the upper grades which make it possible for us to carry forward our education independently after we leave school.

9. You make us take intelligence tests in which you throw together, in a heap, manipulative, mathematical, and verbal questions; and then you average these unlikes and call it our I. Q. If it stopped there, we would not complain. But no! You must proceed to assort and classify us on this absurd basis. And so you build high fences to keep us out of greener pastures and let us graze on thorns and thistles.

10. You glorify the road *toward* some destination, but you do not set us on the main highway. If you do succeed in starting us on the road that

leads somewhere, you let us take some bypath and start out on another journey as soon as travel becomes a little difficult. And so we never arrive anywhere.

11. You deprive us of valuable experiences because you are committed to that specious doctrine which you

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### THE IDES OF MARCH

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Julius Caesar was assassinated on March 15, 44 B. C. Why not plan a commemorative program for your Latin club or Caesar class? For material, see page 70.

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call "self-felt needs" and "immediate interests," not realizing that our zeal grows out of our experience and increases with it. Our wants are often only wishful thinking; our real needs we do not know, nor can we know them if we are not exposed to the experience. You have no adequate way of determining whether we should be in your class or not. If you do not have us in your class, how can we discover and realize those needs? If you are so fortunate (or unfortunate, perhaps) as to have us in your class, you do not make us aware of the goals to be gained. You give us a fine talk on the first day about the objectives of the course, and then we never hear of them again. And so we float and drift like a ship without a rudder, with no harbor in sight.

12. You are hermetically sealed in your classroom and do not know what we are doing in other classes. For all the excellence you display in the knowledge of your subject, we feel that we would be better off with one good teacher in a one-room school.

13. You teach us all by the same standard, whereas some of us are slow and others fast, some have time for homework and others have chores to do, some have a rich home life and others do not. And when it comes around to marking time, you use this same single standard for the grades which you put on our report cards.

14. You sponsor extra-curricular activities freely, but too often allow the tail to wag the dog. You wisely protect us against exclusive clubs and still allow a chosen few to wear a score or more of decorations to dazzle the eyes of small fry who only keep the bleachers warm. We yell our heads off for the glory of "old Central Hi," and yet we timid folk who can not excel in intramural sports and never hold an office in a club must be content to see our names in

the school annual with some inane, inept quotation as a consolation prize.

In addition to our general education, which we believe all should have in common, we also represent the needs, if not the will of special groups who constitute segments of the circle. Each of these groups, as well as every individual within each group, is entitled to recognition.

First, there are those among us who possess potentialities somewhat better than the average. We can not be satisfied with the least common denominator in our education. We demand courses that will challenge our best effort. Our English course should require plenty of exacting writing over and above practice in improvised writing, and should include the best English and American classics. We demand the privilege of studying Latin; first, because it is a short-cut to the control of English vocabulary and language structure; and second, because its literature is the carrier of Greek and Roman ideas and the teachings of Christianity, which form the foundation for Western culture. We should like to learn also some contemporary language and literature. Some of us require straight mathematics and a well organized laboratory science. We also hope that you will protect us from our natural inclination to sidestep, by encouraging or even requiring us to continue our courses in the upper grades. Then, if you can incorporate these requirements in our programs so that there will be no pronounced gaps in our education and still leave us a little room for free choice, we shall be grateful for your guidance.

There are also among us certain groups who possess special aptitudes in such fields as industrial arts, domestic science, arts and crafts, music, dramatics, commercial arts, and agriculture. We should like to explore one or two of these fields as far as is practicable, but not at the expense of our general education.

Finally, in the total enrollment of our school there are many boys and girls who are slow to learn or lack the courage to act. We who fall into that class do not condone our indifference, but we do demand recognition. We trust that you will stir in us the desire to learn, be patient with our shortcomings, set for us tasks that we can do, and expect us to succeed within the limitations of our meager capacity. If you will judge us by our progress and keep your faith in us, you will find that many of us who are slow but eager to learn will outstrip the indolent bright. Robert



Louis Stevenson must have had us in mind when he said, "To travel hopefully is a better thing than to arrive."

### BOOK NOTES

John Milton at St. Paul's School: A Study of Ancient Rhetoric in English Renaissance Education. By Donald Lemen Clark. New York: Columbia University Press, 1948. Pp. x + 269. \$3.50.

Fortunately for the readers of THE CLASSICAL OUTLOOK, it is the subtitle rather than the title that is indicative of most of the contents of this recent study by the well-known Columbia University Professor of Rhetoric, Milton scholar, and expert in the educational theories and practices of the Renaissance. All classicists are, or should be, interested in anything that can shed light upon the development of the poet who created what has been termed "the chief glory of the classical spirit in English literature"; still it cannot be expected that they will follow the author's discussion of such problems as the age at which Milton entered St. Paul's or the exact textbooks which he must or may have used as a schoolboy, with the same attention that will be given them by the Milton specialist. On the other hand, it is with fascination (perhaps regret, too) that the classicist will read the description and analysis of the organization, curriculum, textbooks, and methods of teaching that prevailed during the Renaissance, especially the seventeenth century, not merely at Colet's famous foundation (Erasmus had been "educational consultant" at its birth in 1512, and William Lily was the first High Master), but in similar humanistic schools throughout the kingdom as well. Where the emphasis lay is well known; Colet charged the "Maisters" to "teche all way that is the best and instruct the chyldren in greke and Redyng laten in Redyng unto them such auctours that hathe with wisdom joyned the pure chaste eloquence" (p. 101). The present volume fills out the picture in great detail, with abundant quotations from contemporary statutes, textbooks, and other documents.

The style is a bit repetitious, occasionally stilted, and there are rather numerous misprints, especially in the accentuation of Greek words, but these are minor defects. The teacher and lover of the classics will find

much information and inspiration in this reconstruction of the dominant educational role played by his subject in the days of Milton, and will look forward to the author's promised study of the teaching of rhetoric in Greece and Rome. —K. G.

America in Greece—A Traditional Policy. By David M. Robinson. New York: Anatolia Press, 1948. Pp. 195. \$3.50, from the Department of Classics, University of Mississippi, University, Miss.

This book contains much food for thought, not only for classicists, but for Americans in general. The author has spent much time in Greece, and knows the Greek people well. He is deeply concerned over the present struggle of the Greeks against Communism—a struggle which he has observed at first hand within the last two years. He sees in the conflict a parallel to the revolt of the Greeks against Turkish domination in the last century; and he sees the Truman doctrine and the Marshall plan, particularly as they apply to Greece, as "no more than . . . America's duty and responsibility towards Greece and the rest of the world," and, indeed, as a fulfillment of this country's traditional policy towards Greece, "for the great services she has performed for mankind."

In the volume Professor Robinson has assembled, from libraries and official archives, some of the more significant documents illustrative of the policy of the United States toward Greece, and of the response to that policy on the part of the Greek people, from 1821 to the present. Some of the documents are presented in photographic reproductions of the original manuscripts or printed texts, and others are simply reprinted. The documents include letters, addresses, resolutions, petitions, acts, legislative proceedings, messages to Congress, popular appeals, newspaper and journal articles, and, finally, President Truman's speech on conditions in Greece and Turkey today. The author's introduction synthesizes the materials, and emphasizes the continuity of the American policy towards Greece.

The book is well printed, on paper of good quality. It is illustrated with seven portraits of American statesmen. The jacket is colorful and attractive. —L. B. L.

Hellenika Trapezophora. By G. Bakalakis. University of Mississippi and Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology, No. 39. Thessalonike: N. Nikolaidis, 1948. Pp. 55. \$2.00. The author, known to the readers

of the *American Journal of Archaeology*, submitted this monograph, written in Modern Greek, to the University of Thessalonike in 1943. It is now published substantially as it was submitted, except for a suggestion by Professor S. Pelekidis. The study does not pretend to be complete, since new pieces are being discovered, or older ones, which had been interpreted otherwise, are identified as *trapezophora*. The author hopes to enrich Class A, and to show that Class B, which up to now has been considered Roman, is composed of Greek works. He has published a work of Greek *amphiglypha*, where he treated *trapezophora* with reliefs on both sides, and does not discuss these in the present work. The book is dedicated to Dr. D. M. Robinson, one of the true phil-Hellenes whom the modern Greeks have been fortunate enough to have since the days of Dr. S. G. Howe and Byron.

The book is divided into a preface (5-6) and ten sections (7-37), each discussing a table-stand, with notes (41-47) and an index to both text and notes (53-55). There are ten illustrations in the text (drawings) and six in four plates (photographs). Curiously enough, the figures in the text begin with No. 2, while in the plates we have Nos. 1, 3, 4, 12, and 14. Only *trapezophora* 1, 2, 8, and 9 are illustrated.

The longest section (7-25) is devoted to the best table-stand, the one at Delos, where the author went repeatedly to study it. It represents in relief a sitting goddess, and a lioness tearing a deer or a roebuck. Scholars differ in their opinions as to whether the goddess represents Leto or Artemis, with Bakalakis espousing the latter view. It is an Attic or Atticizing work of about the end of the fifth century.

The author has good descriptive powers. In the following he is at his best (20): "Artemis is nature herself, with all her grandeur combined with ferocity; murderous and subduing, a harsh and at the same time good nurse; full of power and movement, which is symbolized very well in the group of the lioness tearing the deer or roebuck." (This translation is the reviewer's.)

The book is carefully printed on paper of good quality, in round, beautiful Greek type. The author, however, unnecessarily mars the pleasure of the educated Greek reader (except for the so-called vulgarist), by twisting learned Greek words into the Procrustean mould of the colloquial Greek. Sed de gustibus non est disputandum! —C. G. Brouzas

## MATERIALS

The 1949 Latin Week Bulletin of the Committee on Educational Policies of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, written by Professor Clyde Murley, is now ready for distribution. The fourteen-page folder contains a wealth of useful material on Roman holidays and on Greco-Roman civilization; it will prove helpful for class and club work as well as for Latin Week celebrations. This issue of the Bulletin commemorates the fifth anniversary of the celebration of Latin Week in the territory of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South. Professor Murley asks us to say that in speaking of this fifth anniversary he was "thinking only of its history in the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, and had no intention of slighting excellent celebrations of Latin Week elsewhere which began earlier." The Bulletin may be obtained from Professor Murley, at 629 Noyes St., Evanston, Ill. Prices are: For one to 24 copies, 10c each; 25 to 99 copies, 7c each; 100 or more copies, 5c each.

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of modern Latin prose and verse. 50c

The Service Bureau has the following material previously offered:

### SLIDES

Professor William M. Seaman has made available two sets of 2" by 2" Kodachrome slides, from photographs made in Italy in the last two years. The slides may be borrowed by members of the American Classical League. Borrowers pay postage and insurance both ways; the sending cost may be paid by means of stamps enclosed in the return package. Mailing costs are small, since the slides are light. Borrowers must be responsible for slides irreparably damaged in handling. Those who wish to purchase the slides may do so, at about 40c each, from Professor William M. Seaman, State College, East Lansing, Michigan. The sets which may be borrowed are:  
FOR. The Roman Forum.  
ROM. Views in and about Rome.

The Service Bureau has for sale the following items previously published:

### WORD ANCESTRY

Word Ancestry. A booklet of interesting stories of the origins of English words. 25c

### LATIN CLUB BULLETIN

Bulletin XII. The Latin Club, by Lillian B. Lawler. Sixth edition, revised and enlarged, 60c. A complete handbook on the subject.

### LATIN WALL CALENDAR

The 1949 Latin Wall Calendar is a scenic calendar, with photographs of ancient Greece and Rome. It is 16 inches by 22 inches, and is printed in red, white, and black. Both Roman and modern designations for the dates appear in large type. The calendar is very useful and instructive in the classroom, \$1.50.

### STICKERS

Junior Classical League stickers, for notebook or for automobile, are now available. Approximately 3¼ inches square, printed in purple and gold. Specify type desired. Price: 3 for 5c

### POSTCARDS

Holiday postcards with the greeting "Ferias Laetas!" ("A Joyous Holiday!") are available. They may be used for any holiday season of the year. The design, in green ink, is taken from Columbus' drawing of one of his own ships. No envelopes. Can be sent through the mail for a one-cent stamp. Price: 30c for a packet of ten cards.

### MATERIAL FOR THE CAESAR CLASS AND FOR THE IDES OF MARCH

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